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*Histoire des Princes de Condé pendant les XVI<sup>e</sup> et XVII<sup>e</sup> Siècles.*

Par M. LE DUC D'AUMALE. Tome VII. (Paris : Calmann Lévy. 1896. Pp. 784.)

THE Duc d'Aumale has completed the five large volumes which he devotes to the life of the "Great Condé." The present volume begins with the battle of the Dunes, when the prince was still in the service of Spain, engaged in fighting against his own country ; it tells of his pardon and the restoration of his estates at the Peace of the Pyrenees, and then describes the tranquil and somewhat uneventful maturity that followed a youth filled with adventure and glory.

In 1651 the Prince of Condé, having taken up arms against the French government, sought the assistance of the Spanish king, and when he was compelled to fly from France, he assumed command of the Spanish armies in the Low Countries. It is hard to see wherein Philip IV. was helped by his new ally ; Condé had become famous by his victories over Spain, but he won no victories for Spain. Doubtless he was hampered by the jealousy of his associates and by the inefficiency of Spanish administration, but Condé's fame as a soldier was won when he was under thirty, and later in life either fortune deserted him or his genius had waned.

However little the Spanish profited by Condé's aid, they insisted with chivalric, one might say with quixotic, devotion that the demands of their ally should be satisfied before they would agree on terms of peace. His requests were exorbitant, when we consider that he was a rebel fighting against his government, and a rebel who had been unsuccessful. Peace could only be made, said the Spanish minister, if Condé were restored not only to all his hereditary rank and wealth, but to all the honors which the king had bestowed upon him ; he must be governor of Guienne and grand master of France, and in addition to this, wrote the prince, he must not be required to appear at Louis XIV.'s court unless it suited his pleasure.

Mazarin bore Condé no love ; he felt that it was dangerous to grant excessive power to a man who had shown that he was ready to abuse it ; and moreover the day was past when the king of France made treaties with a subject as with an independent prince. In 1656 Lionne visited Madrid as a messenger of peace, but his mission was a failure because the Spanish stubbornly insisted that Condé's pretensions must be satisfied, no matter how unreasonable in themselves, no matter at what cost to Spain ; this, they said, concerned Spanish honor, and when honor was involved considerations of advantage had no weight.

It was on this ground that negotiations were broken off, but three years later they were again renewed. Condé's stubborn pride was beginning to weaken as the years of exile went on, and the Spanish were now eager for peace. The prince yielded many of his exorbitant demands, and Philip offered to increase the territory ceded to France in order to obtain more favorable terms for his ally. The cession of Avesnes softened Mazarin's

rigor; Condé acknowledged his misdeeds and was pardoned, his estates were restored, and he was made governor of Burgundy.

All these negotiations the Duc d'Aumale has described with fullness and accuracy. He has at his command the materials, whether published or unpublished, which can throw light on Condé's career, and the story is always told with that grace and clearness of style in which the author excels. If an accurate and agreeable narration of the events of Condé's life were all that was required, no criticism could be passed upon this work. But his career is hardly worth studying in such detail, unless from it some lessons can be drawn, and in this respect, it seems to us, the Duc d'Aumale is lacking. He views his hero with the favor natural, perhaps, in a biographer, in a member of the same family, in one who himself dwells where the great Condé once held his princely court. The vices of Condé's character, his greed for power and place, his impatience of legal authority, his disregard for others, the evil example he set, the harm he did to France, his readiness to plunge the country in disorder that he might gratify a selfish ambition,—these things are little impressed upon the reader. Yet to be allured by the fame of Condé's early exploits and view his career as one deserving the admiration of posterity, seems to us to be misreading the teachings of history.

Condé lived for twenty-six years after his return to France, but he was no longer a great figure in French politics. Though he had been pardoned, some time elapsed before he was regarded by Louis XIV. with entire confidence. So far as this mistrust was based upon his former career, it was without foundation; the prince came back a tamed conspirator, a repentant rebel; amid the crowd of courtiers who followed the *grand monarque* as he walked through the gardens of the Tuileries or the park of Versailles, there was not one more entirely submissive to the least intimation of the monarch's wish than the prince who for over ten years had been in open rebellion. Implicit obedience and a chastened spirit at last brought some reward. In 1667 Condé was again given the command of an army, and he served for several years in the Low Countries. Though he acquitted himself with credit, he gained no glory; the daring, the presence of mind, the quickness of conception that had made him famous, were no longer displayed. Twenty years earlier he had been thought a greater general than Turenne; now no one disputed the latter's claim to pre-eminence, and when Turenne was killed at the head of his army, Condé admitted that he was unequal to filling the vacant place. In 1675 his career as a soldier closed; he was only fifty-four years of age, but he was weighed down by infirmities, and he retired to a life of stately repose at Chantilly. There he could find consolations for the pains of disease or the disappointments of ambition. The most famous and the most charming men of France paid their court to the hero of Rocroi, and thither almost every one of European prominence at one time or another made his pilgrimage. Foreign ambassadors regarded a visit to Chantilly as part of their regular duties; ministers of state there sought relaxation;

Louis XIV. himself sometimes honored it with his presence and took part in hunts which, either in splendor or in the amount of game, could not be surpassed in France.

The prince was interested in letters, and his taste was generally correct. Molière and Racine, Corneille and Boileau, were favored with his patronage, and they, with almost every one prominent in literature, were frequent visitors at Chantilly. Many of Molière's plays were acted there, and the struggling playwright had the steadfast protection of the prince. Condé's hospitality was freely extended to all who had any claim upon his interest. "Ancient adversaries," says the Duc d'Aumale, "met ancient friends, the Huguenot jostled against the Catholic, the Cartesian conversed with the free-thinker, every one breathed at his ease the free air of this hospitable mansion."

Condé's mind was active, and he was interested in many things; he gathered a fine collection of paintings; under him the great park of Chantilly was enlarged and beautified, and the picturesque château of Chantilly was enlarged and made hideous. Thus the prince spent his declining years, enjoying the splendor of his fortune and the incense of his fame, yet free from vulgar egotism, and extending to all the stately and somewhat condescending courtesy of a great French nobleman. In 1686 he died. He has left a great name, but his insubordination cost his country more than his genius gained for her; his career was controlled by selfishness, and lacking in patriotism, and even as a soldier his reputation pales before the pure fame of Turenne.

JAMES BRECK PERKINS.

*The Union of England and Scotland: a Study of International History.* By JAMES MACKINNON, Ph.D. (London, New York, and Bombay: Longmans, Green and Co. 1896. Pp. xviii, 594.)

THIS book is on a subject that must always be interesting to students of history. There was need of a new account of the Union. The accounts of it accessible to ordinary students are of a rather meagre and perfunctory sort. The great historians, for one reason or another, have slighted the subject. Lingard stops at the Revolution; Hallam considered his work done when he reached the reign of Anne; Macaulay died before he reached the date of the Union; to Stanhope, Burton, and Lecky the parliamentary union with Scotland was but an episode in the general narrative. The book before us is designed to fill this gap by making the Union the central theme of an adequate treatment. The result is, on the whole, satisfactory. The author has gone to the contemporary sources at every point. He has found some materials that have never before been used. He has constructed a narrative that is always clear and eminently readable. He writes as a Scot even to the extent of dropping into an occasional Scotticism, and makes the Scottish side of the case the more prominent throughout; but